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## COMPULSORY TRAINING AND INDUSTRIAL PREPAREDNESS<sup>1</sup>

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**C**OMPULSORY service ceases to be compulsory when there is a willingness to serve. Our problem is, therefore, to determine how to induce this willingness.

In attempting to solve this problem, let me place before you the statement of the Hollander who, in September, 1915, said in one of the Amsterdam papers:

Here lies Germany's strength—not in her howitzers, not in her submarines, not in new chemical discoveries, not in the organization of production and distribution. All these are but manifestations, only instruments of use because of the tremendous force back of them—the marvellous energetic power of the soul of the German people.

Keeping this thought in mind, we should give the words of Senator Hitchcock careful consideration:

For more than a year, the world has seen England call for fit men and has watched a far-flung program of military preparedness shattered by strikes, refusals and sullen indifference. Sacred promises of aid and protection have crumbled, while officers sweated in training camps trying to make soldiers out of poverty-stunted weaklings. During the same period, Germany has flooded the continent with singing millions capable of all endurance. It is not a question that has to do with sympathy but a cold-blooded comparison of two methods of preparedness. Germany is doing the thing which England has not been able to do because Germany, more than any other nation, has made the welfare of the individual citizen the concern of the State, manifesting protective and continuous interest in his life, health, education and future. Government in Germany is not a sovereign power, detached and magisterial, but a working partnership with the people for the promotion of prosperity.

<sup>1</sup> Read at the evening session of the Academy of Political Science, May 18, 1916.

The question with which we should be most concerned is: Is there a partnership between our government and the people for the promotion of prosperity—a very necessary factor before we can have true preparedness?

In answering this question, let me place before you some of our present-day conditions which will indicate the pronounced room for improvement.

In a recent address before the Rubber Club of America, Edward N. Hurley, vice-chairman of the Federal Trade Commission, said:

(1) Leaving out of consideration the banking, railroad and public utility corporations and referring only to those that have to do with trade and industry, we find that there are about 250,000 corporations in the country. The astonishing fact is that over 100,000 of these report no net income whatever. In addition, 90,000 make less than \$5000 a year while only the 60,000 remaining, the more successful ones, make \$5000 a year more.

(2) According to the report of the Industrial Relations Commission, 35,000 workers are killed and 700,000 injured yearly, and each one of the 30,000,000 workers in this country lose on an average, nine days a year through sickness, costing them a loss of about \$700,000,000 yearly.

(3) Carrie Chapman Catt says that of the millions of pupils attending our grade schools yearly, one-half of them never finish the course, only 5% enter high school, only  $\frac{1}{8}$  of 1% go to technical schools and about  $\frac{1}{8}$  of 1% get a college training.

(4) It is reported that three-fourth of the male wage-earners in the United States earn less than \$600 per year, and that of the 8,000,000 women workers, two-thirds earn less than \$8.00 per week and one-half less than \$6.00 per week. On the other hand, there are 1600 American fortunes yielding \$100,000 or more, and forty-four yielding \$100,000,000 or more yearly.

(5) Our average unemployment is 14% as against 6% in Great Britain and 2% in Germany.

(6) According to Frank P. Walsh, there are 5,000,000 men in this country whose labor is so casual that it borders on vagrancy.

(7) According to Dr. Rupert Blue, Surgeon-General of the U. S. Public Health Service, 600,000 people die annually in the United States from preventable diseases, and of the 300,000 infants that perish

annually, one-half could be saved by measures within the reach of every community.

(8) We have 2,500,000 farmers striving for a bare existence on farms of less than 50 acres, while four-fifths of the 50,000 owners of large areas hold their land out of active service.

(9) According to Koester, who devoted 422 pages to the discussion, we are wasting annually in this country ten billion dollars.

(10) Consider the following :

*United States*

Wealthy class (2% of people)	. . .	60% of wealth
Middle class (33% of people)	. . .	35% of wealth
Poor class (65% of people)	. . .	5% of wealth

(11) Of the 41,168 applicants desiring to join the U. S. Marine Corps in 1915, only 9.3% were accepted, the balance being reported as physically unfit. New York City had the lowest acceptance, 2.9%.

(12) Mrs. Charles O'Hara Craigie, in an address before the National Democratic Women of America, stated that the United States is twenty-five years behind other nations with which we are in open competition, in the training afforded by the vocational schools which turn out skilled industrial workers.

These are ugly pictures, damning evidence of the existence in this country of a "mutual admiration society" which has either failed or refused to consider the seriousness of some of the conditions in our midst. And yet we talk of military preparedness as glibly as we do spending \$50,000,000 in "pork" items.

Mr. Edison well says: "After the European war, preparedness agitation here will die out, and then war with us will be a walk-over for some nation."

At this point I want to ask this question: What would have happened to Germany if its well-organized war staff, having absolute control of all the factors with which warfare is concerned, had been forced to depend upon a disorganized and individualistic industrial system? She would have been beaten before she even started. On the other hand, what would have happened to Germany if England, France and Russia had been as well prepared industrially as Germany was? The same

answer applies to this question—Germany would have been beaten before she even started.

It is, therefore, obvious that the basis of the military efficiency is industrial efficiency. It should also be obvious that there can be no military or industrial efficiency unless there is efficiency, loyalty and support on the part of the individual. Therefore, *true preparedness rests with the individual, aided by organization and control.*

How many appreciate the fact that there will be a gigantic awakening in Europe when the fifteen or twenty million serious-minded, bitter and determined men who have been through all the horrors of hell return to civil and industrial life, with new conceptions gained through daily, intimate contact with superior organization, efficient control and stern discipline?

How many here realize that the stern necessities of war have forced England, France, Russia, and even Germany to a kind of industrial efficiency never before dreamed of, to undertaking and accomplishing things which were thought impossible of attainment before the war, and which will be carried on after it is over?

If you will seriously consider these two questions, the logical conclusion is that we must immediately take steps to "put our house in order," especially if we keep in mind the following from *After the War*, by Thomas O. Marvin, president of the Home Market Club of Boston:

The United States will be the fruitful garden toward which the eager eyes of Europe will be turned. Here will be the goal that the wasted treasuries of Europe will most earnestly seek. The economic problems which will arise will require the wisest statesmanship that the country can furnish. In the face of the nation's need, economic theories purely Utopian in character must be abandoned, and industrial defense must be provided in the same patriotic spirit that prompts the steps that are being taken to secure military preparedness.

In the *Metropolitan Magazine*, Mr. Roosevelt made this statement:

In contrast to England is Germany. Germany founded her military  
(467)

efficiency on industrial organization. Her industrial organization, however, is founded upon military principles. Our job is to secure the German result of unity and efficiency but to secure that result in line with American traditions and American ideas, to secure it as the result of cooperating free men, and to secure it without producing the psychology which in Germany has been a source of such terrible world evil.

Let us study carefully what she has done and adapt to our needs the schemes which she has found successful, supplementing them with whatever additional measures our own experience may indicate as advisable.

A close study of German military and industrial accomplishments indicates quite clearly that the principles upon which she based her work were organization, control, standardization and incentive, using as her ideals the following:

(1) Consider the reasons for political disturbances and in dealing with the people give them wise and economic administration under expert guidance.

(2) Abolish pauperism; keep workmen employed, and provide for old age, sickness and accident.

(3) Take part in industrial combinations that undertake to regulate prices and the production of any industry.

(4) Prepare growing generations for advancement in industrial pursuits.

Is there anything about these four items to which the American worker or the American manufacturer cannot subscribe?

The results of this study with reference to the lesson we can learn in effecting this partnership between the government and the people, are:

(1) Organization of a superior order;

(2) Control of the most efficient kind;

(3) Cohesion and unity of purpose;

(4) Co-operation which really co-operates;

(5) The staff idea as applied to military, naval and industrial matters;

(6) Intelligent direction through expert guidance in all important matters;

- (7) The elimination of politics from things involving the welfare of the people ;
- (8) Foresight and planning ahead ;
- (9) Proper and adequate industrial education ;
- (10) Social insurance covering accidents, sickness and old age ;
- (11) Freedom from costly industrial disputes ;
- (12) Adequate employment ;
- (13) A reasonable distribution of wealth ;
- (14) Proper protection and encouragement of big business ;
- (15) Government control of the important factors which serve industry and the people.

But this situation confronts us: Can we get the support, the loyalty and the hearty co-operation from that proportion of our people on whom industrial and military efficiency depends until we have in some manner made it worth their while? Have we ever made it worth their while? If anyone thinks we have, let him go back and mentally review the twelve conditions outlined in the introduction. In other words, this conclusion is forced upon us—if *we are to get from the rank and file of our people the willingness to serve and to do the things so necessary in a comprehensive plan of preparedness, we must begin consideration of the matter of incentive now, not twenty-five years hence, when it will be too late.*

In providing incentive, we should adopt the following:

- (1) Give the people steady employment,
- (2) Protect them from loss due to sickness, accident and old age,
- (3) Reduce industrial disputes,
- (4) Give them sufficient income.

As regards the first: Our employment problem can easily be solved if the work is under the control of the government and in the hands of experts.

As regards social insurance: I believe we all agree that provision should be made for those dependent upon workers killed and that compensation laws and accident insurance should be made to take care of those injured. Sickness insurance is by all means the most important, as accidents only cause one-

seventh and unemployment only one-fifteen as much destitution as sickness. Imagine, if you will, what the loss to this country is in productive effort alone each year through the waste of 270,000,000 man-days per year due to sickness. There should also be provision for old-age disability.

Industrial disputes should be made the subject of the most careful study and laws enacted and courts created to enable both capital and labor to get together and settle their disputes, along the lines of industrial courts in Germany. What sense is there in having costly industrial disputes when over a period of fifteen years, 44% of the strikes have been won and 44% lost?

With reference to the fourth point (income), I am not a Socialist advocating an equal distribution of wealth, but I do say that if we consider German military and industrial attainments on the one hand and her better distribution of wealth on the other, only one conclusion is possible—we must bring about readjustment, through income and inheritance taxes, as a factor in insuring rewards to the 65% of the people upon whom industrial attainment depends and to whom we would have to look as workers or soldiers in case of war.

With reference to standardization, by which I mean the doing of things thoroughly, we must at once take steps to provide the right kind of industrial education, as well as the best methods of physical training.

Dr. P. P. Claxton, United States Commissioner of Education, declares:

The children of today will have to face a fiercer democracy when they become the men and women of tomorrow, and unless they are fitted by comprehensive national vocational training to meet the great complexities of life which are bound to face them when they leave our schools, our educational system will have failed in its purpose.

In *Collier's Magazine*, Frederick Palmer recently wrote as follows:

Universal service has meant the physical regeneration of Europe. British battalions of clerks and factory hands whom I saw at Aldershot with sunken chests and round shoulders in August, 1914, I saw eight



months later at the British front with square shoulders and deep chests. As one British officer stated, what a pity that many of these men must be killed. If the war stopped here it would mean that England has been regenerated. Go over to the east side of New York and watch the crowds. Go into an American town and see the loafers hanging around the street corners, and think what a year's training regardless of drilling with a rifle for its own sake would do for them? It would give them physical efficiency, definiteness of thought, pride and a sense of discipline.

But it means two years wasted out of a man's life, someone argues. They argued that way in England before the war but they do not now. Germany gave her man two years' training and within the small space of her European empire she managed to fit and clothe nearly 70,000,000 people. France has gone back to three years' training and yet the French people were probably the wealthiest per capita in the world before the war.

If the United States had universal service, universal physical training and say a year's military training for every young man, it would mean that we would be 20% more productive twenty years hence. For an example of the results of disciplined physical training at home see the callow candidates for West Point before they enter and after they are graduated. Freshmen and seniors in no other college offer any such contrast. But universal service does not make for democracy, you say. What about France? The English young army men ought to know and they are for it, these million of men who did not know the manual of arms and enlisted at the call of danger.

As regards organization and control, let me read you the following, concerning the German military sock:

A German officer who was visiting America spoke of the way in which his people addressed themselves to war problems in times of peace. Here is an excellent example, he said, and lifting his foot, took off his shoe. From about his foot he then took not the ordinary sock that men wear elsewhere but a sort of napkin or handkerchief which was carefully folded about it. This, he said, is the German military sock. It is the result of years of study and experiment by the very best minds not only in the German army but in German science and medicine. There are about thirty different ways of folding the sock about the foot. he said, and during his three years in the army the soldier is taught to become expert in using them all. Each manner of folding has a differ-

ent purpose. One will relieve a soreness of the heel, another a weariness of the instep, a third will protect an irritated corn, and a fourth will relieve the inflamed ball of the foot. At the same time the soldier is taught these different methods of wrapping the sock, he also learns the anatomy of the foot and just why the different wrappings relieve the different foot-ailments.

Professor Potter of Harvard University, in a lecture before the Forsythe Dental Infirmary, said :

The teeth of the English soldiers in the trenches are in poorer condition than the men of any other power. The French rank much higher as regards mouth-hygiene efficiency, with the Germans heading the list, almost 100% perfect.

The German soldier perhaps through the foresighted and long-preparing German nation, is faring the best of any, especially as regards his teeth. For more than fifteen years Germany has been caring for the teeth of its subjects, establishing clinics in the public schools, dental infirmaries in the smaller towns and villages as well as in the cities, and on the whole making sure that no child, especially a boy, is allowed to get his teeth into that state of decay which would cause his rejection at the time of a call to his colors.

We must provide incentives for our people. We must arrange for standardization, by which I mean the right industrial and vocational training, as well as physical training.

With reference to organization and control as applied to this country, I think we are all agreed that if a corporation managed its business in the way the business of the nation is handled, it would soon be outdistanced by its competitors, which leads to this conclusion: The nation must get out of politics and get into business.

The business of a corporation is managed by one man or a group of men. With reference to the country, however, we have a condition that is virtually the same as doing business in forty-eight different countries—certainly an absurd and inefficient way of doing things.

Imagine, if you will, what would happen if the German army or the British navy were organized as is this nation.

If we profit by the lessons which Germany can teach us along

lines of organization and control, then what this country needs, and promptly too, is not state but national organization and control for efficiency, economy and uniformity as to the following:

- (1) Incorporations;
- (2) Accident-prevention measures;
- (3) Industrial education;
- (4) Workmen's compensation laws;
- (5) Inheritance and income taxes;
- (6) Social insurance;
- (7) The tariff;
- (8) Management and labor;
- (9) Transportation and water ways;
- (10) Merchant marine;
- (11) Sanitation and health;
- (12) Employment;
- (13) Military and naval affairs;
- (14) Industrial disputes.

We are a free people; we have wonderful resources in money, men and material. We believe in "Union there is Strength." We are an unusually prosperous nation, which as a people is now contemplating preparedness.

Will our people, believing as they do in unity, take these resources and through the proper application of organization and control, based on standardization and incentive, prepare industrially as well as in a military sense to lead the world? Or will it take a great war to shake us from individualism and force us, as it is forcing England, to learn the great lesson that the power behind the most efficient civilization is organization?